

RECUSANT HISTORY

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Catholic History in the British Isles

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RECUSANT HISTORY

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EDITORS' NOTE

With this issue *Recusant History* completes its fourth volume and its eighth year of publication. The articles it has published so far have mainly concerned the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the emphasis on this early period is likely to remain for some time to come. The causes which determined the history of the Church—and of Catholicism generally—in England, from the late seventeenth century until well into the nineteenth, lay far back in the early period, in the relationship between the Church and the government on the one hand, and between rival factions within the Catholic body on the other. It is generally recognised that the history of the Catholic Church in England in the post-Reformation period needs to be re-written, but what is not so often appreciated is that the task is a formidable one, involving the examination of large numbers of documents and the application of strict principles of historical method. The work is necessarily slow and piecemeal.

We hope to publish in the next volume of this periodical several substantial contributions to the history of the Church in England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Leo Hicks S. J. has in preparation a study throwing new light on the Throckmorton Plot of 1584. Gerard Sitwell O. S. B. has completed an account of Leander Jones's mission to England in 1634 to discover what possibilities existed of a rapprochement between Rome and the government of Charles I. A. F. Allison has ready the first of a series of studies on the conflict between the English Jesuits and Richard Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon in the 1620's and early 1630's.

THE CATHOLIC RECORD SOCIETY

Programme of Talks open to the Public

1958-59

A series of talks on Recusant history arranged by the Society will be held at 114 Mount Street, London W.1, beginning in October 1958. Non-members are welcome. The talks begin at 7 p.m.

Wednesday, October 15th, 1958.

ANTHONY KENNY : *Seminary Life at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century.*

Wednesday, January 7th, 1959.

PROFESSOR T. A. BIRRELL : *The Spread of Recusant Literature in non-Catholic Circles, c.1660-1850.*

(This talk will be combined with the A.G.M. of the Catholic Record Society).

Wednesday, February 18th, 1959.

DR. A. E. J. HOLLAENDER : *Diocesan Record Offices of today and their Importance for Recusant Research.*

Wednesday, March 18th, 1959.

ANTHONY PETTI : *Richard Verstegan (1550-1640), Fr. Persons's 'Intelligencer' at Antwerp. His life and writings.*

Wednesday, May 20th, 1959.

DR. D. M. ROGERS : *Some Prayers and Prayer-Books of the English Catholics since the Reformation.*

JOHN HEIGHAM OF S. OMER (c.1568-c.1632)

By A. F. ALLISON

To anyone who has studied English Catholic books of the early seventeenth century, the imprints, "Doway, for John Heigham" and "S. Omers, for John Heigham" have a familiar—not to say monotonous—ring. There are over sixty books in existence today¹, printed between 1609 and 1631, which bear one or other of these imprints. Yet very little is generally known about the man himself. The biographies of him which appear in works of reference tell us next to nothing about him and what they do tell us is for the most part incorrect. In this note I shall try to unravel some of the muddles which have arisen and set out briefly the main outline of his career in so far as it can be established from the evidence.

Georges Lepreux, in the volume on the printers of Flanders, Artois and Picardy (1909)² in his great work on French printing, *Gallia Typographica*, was unable to discover anything about Heigham and came to the conclusion that he never existed. Lepreux's argument is worth recording if only as a warning to others not to be too hasty in jumping to conclusions. Sommer-vogel had said in his *Bibliothèque de la compagnie de Jésus* that the name John Heigham had been used as a pseudonym by the English Jesuit Thomas Everard in the early seventeenth century, and had listed under Everard several books bearing Heigham's name on the titlepage.³ Lepreux thought this was the key to the mystery: whenever Heigham's name appeared on a titlepage it was a mask for the Jesuit author/publisher, Thomas Everard. Admittedly, Lepreux encountered only about half a dozen of these books; if he had seen the scores of original works, compilations, adaptations and translations which can now be located, all bearing the name John Heigham in the imprint, he would perhaps have re-examined his premises. The documentary evidence about Heigham exists, but it is not to be found in France where Lepreux looked for it, for Douai and Saint Omer where Heigham exercised his trade belonged in the early seventeenth century to the Spanish Netherlands, and the documents relating to printing in these

towns at that period are among the papers of the Spanish Privy Council in the Royal Archives at Brussels.⁴ Sommervogel's statement that Everard used the pseudonym Heigham is merely an uncritical elaboration of an entry in Nathaniel Southwell's revision of Alegambe's *Bibliotheca* (1676) which, as I have shown in a previous article,⁵ is almost certainly wrong. In any case, there is no evidence—and it is unlikely—that Thomas Everard, who spent most of his life on the mission in England, saw books through the press at Douai and Saint Omer. So Lepreux's argument collapses.

Other works of reference confuse John Heigham with William Heigham of Essex, the brother of Anne Line the martyr. William, whose Protestant father disinherited him when he became a Catholic, was imprisoned on account of his religion in 1585; he later went abroad, joining the Society of Jesus as a lay-brother, and lived for some years at the English College, Valladolid. He was still at Valladolid in July 1609 and he probably died there.⁶ Joseph Gillow, in an article on John Heigham in his *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics* (Vol. 3, 1887),⁷ suggests in an ambiguously worded passage that John and William were related, and some more recent writers who use Gillow as an authority increase the confusion still further. Louis Antheunis, for instance, in *Engelsche drukkers in de Nederlanden* (1937),⁸ writes of William and John as if they were father and son.

In the article on John Heigham in the Bibliographical Society's *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers . . . 1557-1640* (1910),⁹ the writer makes William and John the same man, saying that John was imprisoned for religion in 1585, that he became a Jesuit lay-brother and went to Spain, and subsequently—as if this were a perfectly normal thing for a Jesuit lay-brother to do—set up as a publisher at Douai and Saint Omer.

To restore to John Heigham his rightful identity, I will set out briefly the facts which can be established about him. In a letter which he wrote in 1628 and afterwards printed in his book *Via Vere Tuta*, 1631, he describes himself as “having liued in the world, these threescore yeares,”¹⁰ which would put his birth at c. 1568. We know nothing of his origins; he may have been connected with the Essex family of William Heigham, but there seems to be no evidence to prove it or even to justify hazarding a guess. One

small piece of evidence concerning his early life is a cryptic note by James Wadsworth the apostate, in his book *The English Spanish Pilgrim*, 1629. Wadsworth, describing his experiences as a student at St. Omer's College some ten years before his book was published, mentions "Higham a booke seller who liued in the Towne" and adds a marginal note against his name: "Sometimes the boy [assistant] of W. W. bookebinder in London." "W. W." was very probably William Wrench who is named as a bookbinder in a number of indictments for recusancy between 1605 and 1611 in the London Sessions Records.¹² A year or two earlier Wrench had been active as a printer of Catholic books. In August, 1597, part of a press at Whitefriars for "printinge papisticall books," which had been discovered to be his, was ordered by the Court of the Stationers' Company to be destroyed.¹³ Between about 1599 and 1601 he was working a secret press in Staffordshire from which issued a number of Catholic books including the edition of Bristow's *Motives* which cost James Duckett, the bookseller, his life.¹⁴ Heigham may have been connected with the press at Whitefriars. The earliest dated evidence that we have about him is a certificate from the keeper of the Gatehouse prison which shows that he was committed to gaol in May 1597, i.e. at about the time when the press was discovered. He was committed by the Dean of Westminster and Topcliffe, but the charge is not mentioned. On June 4, he was transferred to Bridewell.¹⁵

It is possible that he went abroad for a time before the end of the century. This is suggested by a letter from a Catholic in England in June 1599 to a correspondent in Italy, in which the writer, speaking of recent events concerning Catholics, mentions that "Higham, a lay-man" has been arrested at Dover on crossing the Channel to England and committed to Bridewell.¹⁶ But the writer does not give any Christian name, and it is not certain that the reference is to our man. The next event in the life of our John Heigham that is known for certain belongs to the year 1603 when he finally left England and settled in Douai. The date is established from details given in an application which he made in June, 1622, when he was living at Saint Omer, to the Spanish Privy Council at Brussels, requesting the extension of a privilege previously granted to him to publish a number of spiritual books in English.¹⁷ In his application, Heigham said that he had been an exile from his own country on account of religion for

the previous nineteen to twenty years—"passez dix neuf a vingt ans;" and he enclosed with his letter a testimonial from the Bishop of St. Omer, in which the Bishop said he had made enquiries and had satisfied himself that Heigham had lived in the Spanish Netherlands for the past nineteen years, first at Douai where he had remained for ten years, and afterwards at St. Omer. To this we can add a further piece of evidence. He had certainly settled at Douai and established himself in the book trade before 3 February 1604 when Richard Fulwood, Fr. Garnet's assistant in England, wrote to him there complaining that only half the number of catechisms which had been ordered from Dr. Worthington at Douai College had so far arrived. The letter was intercepted by the government and is preserved among Cecil's papers at Hatfield.¹⁸

It is convenient at this point to clear up a difficulty with regard to Heigham's christian name. In later life—from about 1610 onward—he consistently called himself John Heigham, and I have adopted this name in the present study. In his earlier years at Douai, however, he was known as Roger Heigham. Why he changed his name we do not know; but there is no doubt that Roger and John are the same man. The name Roger Heigham occurs frequently in connection with Catholic printing at Douai between 1603 and 1610 *but not later*, while the name John Heigham occurs in the same connection after 1610 *but not earlier*. The evidence which proves that they are one and the same is to be found in his collection of translations entitled *Six Spiritual Books*, first printed at Douai in 1604 and reprinted in 1611 and again in 1618 and 1624.¹⁹ In the first edition, Heigham's name does not appear but several of the dedicatory epistles are signed with the initials 'R.H.'; in the second and subsequent editions, the name John Heigham is printed in place of these initials. That Heigham was republishing his own work and not that of someone else with the initials 'R. H.' is clear from his preface to the 1611 edition in which he refers to the former edition as "my first printing of these Six spiritual books," and says that he is now about to "set forth anew these bookes of deuotion."

From Douai Heigham directed his energies to furthering Catholic propaganda in England, preparing English texts for publication, employing foreign printers to print them, and organising the dangerous trade of smuggling

them across the Channel. William Udall,²⁰ the apostate and informer, has some observations on Heigham's activities at this period. In July 1608 Udall wrote to Cecil that Heigham had recently been in England and that he could have had him arrested but for the dilatoriness of Archbishop Bancroft.

" [I] offered his grace the apprehension of Roger Higham who printeth and sendeth into England all the bokes which come from Doway and was at this tyme come over from the Jesuitts amongst other businesses to send them over yonge youths with good portions which he hath performed to the number of vii or viii." ²¹

It seems from the remark about Jesuits and youths with good portions that Heigham had already established a connection with the English Jesuits at St. Omer with whom he was to be associated in later years. There is no evidence to support Udall's statement that he printed books himself. He is usually described as "bookseller" or "marchand libraire."²² It is true, the words "By John Heigham" occur in the imprints of some of his later books, but these books can be shown, on typographical evidence, to have been printed by the French printers whom he employed. All that is implied by the imprint "Doway, by John Heigham" or "S. Omer, by John Heigham" is that the book was printed at one of those towns by a printer who was working for Heigham.

Soon after his arrival at Douai, Heigham had begun an association with two printers in the town. One was Pierre Auroi, a Belgian who had come to Douai in 1596 and whose business was at the Pelican d'Or in the rue des Ecoles near the University. The other was Charles Boscard, the son of Jacques Boscard,, a Douai printer whose business was also in the rue des Ecoles, at l'Escu de Bourgogne; Jacques had died in 1578 and his widow had carried on the business until 1605 when she died, leaving it to Charles. Charles remained at Douai until 1610 when he moved to St. Omer to take the place of the town printer, Francois Bellet, who had moved to Ypres. It seems probable that the families of Auroi and Boscard were connected by marriage, for Pierre Auroi married a certain Dorothée Boscard; Dorothée may have been a sister of Charles, but I have discovered no certain evidence of this.²³ Heigham employed these two printers almost exclusively for his work for the English market. They seldom put their names to the books they printed

for him, but their work can be identified from the types and ornaments they used, for these also appear in the books they printed for the foreign market which have their imprints. Lists of their English books, assembled on typographical evidence, will be found in the index to Allison and Rogers, and I need not repeat them here. In just over twenty years, Heigham's partnership with these two men produced over a hundred books—an achievement second only to that of the St. Omers College press in its early days.

Udall makes several references to Heigham in letters which he wrote to Sir Julius Caesar, Cecil's Under Secretary at the Treasury, in 1609. On 22 October, he wrote to Caesar, with some slight exaggeration :

" There hath not any boke of state, or otherwyse bin brought into England or printed beyonde the seas but it hath bin performed by one Roger Higham or his wyfe." ²⁴

And again ten days later, on 2 November :

" Roger Higham is a printer beyonde the seas and sendeth in all the seditious bokes which come from Doway and those parts." ²⁵

One book with which Heigham seems to have been especially closely connected was *A Catholike Cnfsutation of M. Iohn Riders Clayme of Antiquitie* by the Irish Jesuit Henry FitzSimon.^{25a} This book, of which a number of copies are extant, can be identified from its type and ornaments as the work partly of Pierre Auroi, partly of Charles Boscard. According to Udall, Heigham sent his wife over to England with copies of it in 1609 and she was seized by the poursuivants with six copies of it about her person. In his letter to Caesar of 22 October, Udall writes :

" Higham . . . hath sent over his wyfe under the habite of a Dutchwoman who hath dispersed numbers of bokes since hir comming into England especially that most seditious boke of the Irish Jesuitts called Fitzsimons "—

And on 2 November he gives more details :

" He about michelmas last sent over his wyfe with bokes, being most seditious, written by one Fitzimons an Irish Jesuit. vi of thees bokes were taken about hir. She hath remayned xvi days in the pursuivants keeping."

In 1613 Heigham left Douai and went to live at St. Omer. The date of his move can be determined from the testimonial of the Bishop of St. Omer which he enclosed with his petition to the Spanish Privy Council in 1622, in which the Bishop certified that Heigham had lived in the Spanish Netherlands for nineteen years, first at Douai for ten years, then at St. Omer.²⁶ One of the reasons for his move was probably a desire to be nearer to the Channel ports of Calais and Dunkirk so as to be able to control the trade to England more effectively. He may also have been influenced by the fact that Charles Boscard had moved to St. Omer. From now on it was Boscard who did most of his printing, though Heigham still gave some work to Auroi at Douai. English books printed by Boscard after 1613 usually have the imprint "S. Omer, for [or by] John Heigham," those printed by Auroi "Doway, for [or by] John Heigham." After his removal to St. Omer, Heigham became the most important figure in the English Catholic book-trade. He not only published books himself, but he also appears to have supervised the dispatch to England of books published by others. When William Bishop, living at Arras College at Paris, published in 1614 his *Disproofe of D. Abbots Counterprooffe*,^{26a} which was printed for him by the Paris printer Claude Morell, he sent stocks of the book to Heigham at St. Omer for shipment to England. The Papal Nuntio at Brussels, Guido Bentivoglio, mentions this in a despatch to Rome of 1 August, 1615, for advance copies already in circulation had provoked strong reaction on account of a passage in the book on the Pope's deposing power, and Heigham was asked to hold up transit until the passage could be amended and reprinted.²⁷

Udall's report that Heigham sent his wife to England with books in 1609 is the earliest reference we have to his being married. In his petition to the Spanish Privy Council in 1622, after stating how long he had lived in the Netherlands, Heigham said that he was married to Marie Boniface, daughter of Pierre Boniface, citizen of Arras, and that they had several children who were dependent on him. The surviving parish registers at St. Omer²⁸ corroborate his statement. The register of the parish of Ste. Marguerite, in which he lived until he moved into that of S. Jean Baptiste sometime between 1620 and 1625, records the baptisms of four of his children: John (bap. 13 July, 1617), James (bap. 30 March 1620), Elizabeth (bap.

12 June, 1622), Edward (bap. 19 March, 1624). The register of S. Jean Baptiste records the baptisms of the following : Catharine (bap. 28 November, 1625), Anne (bap. 25 January, 1628), Anne (bap. 7 October, 1629). The entries give the father's name as John Heigham (Heam or Heame) and the mother's maiden name as Maria Boniface. There must have been another, older child (possibly more than one), born when he was living at Douai,²⁹ for he describes his children in the petition of 1622 as " tous natifs des villes de Douaij et Saint Omer," and he also speaks of grandchildren—" sa petite famille "—who depended on him. It looks as if there was a married daughter who had been widowed. We know nothing about the careers of the children except those of Edward and John. Edward became a Franciscan and died in 1647 at the early age of twenty-three.³⁰ John was educated at St. Omers College and proceeded to the English College, Rome, in 1634, to train for the priesthood. In reply to the usual questions about his family, put to him on arriving in Rome, he said that his name was John Heigham ; his father's name was John and his mother's was Mary ; he was born at St. Omer about eighteen years previously, and brought up there ; his parents were gentlefolk, but he knew nothing about their position ; he had two brothers and three sisters ; he had taken the course of litteri humaniores at St. Omer with moderate progress and proficiency.³¹ When he speaks of two brothers and three sisters, he is presumably referring only to the living. The elder brother or sister born at Douai was perhaps dead by this time. The first Anne, baptized at St. Omer on 25 January, 1628 (supra), evidently died in infancy.

Gillow says with his usual self-assurance, that Heigham's wife was a Mary Garnet³² and this statement has been copied by others, notably Thompson Cooper in the Dictionary of National Biography. But Gillow was not acquainted with any of the above evidence except the replies of the younger John Heigham to the questions put to him when he entered the English College, Rome, in 1634, from which he learned that John's mother's name was Mary. As we have just seen, her maiden name was Marie Boniface. Gillow found, in the *Liber Ruber* of the College, that John adopted the alias of Garnet while he was a student there, and knowing that the students frequently took their mother's maiden name as an alias, he evidently jumped to the conclusion that John's mother was Mary Garnet. Unfortunately, he stated it, not as a possibility but as a fact.

The most active period of Heigham's publishing career was from 1622 to 1625, when to judge solely by what has survived—he published on an average eight books a year compared with the two or three of previous years. Conditions were at this time more favourable than they had ever been for the Catholic book-trade to England. King James's negotiations, first with Spain—prior to 1623—and then with France—1623-1625—for the marriage of his son, Prince Charles, necessitated conciliations to Catholics at home, and for a time the penal laws were greatly relaxed. Customs officials were less vigilant; books could be smuggled into the country more easily; and booksellers could stock them without undue fear of being penalised. Heigham, who had now, in addition to his zeal for the cause, the practical incentive of supporting his growing family, made good use of the respite. Many of the books which he now published were reprints of English translations of foreign works of devotion, such as Androzzi's *Della frequenza della comunione*, which he had published before. He reprinted several of the major controversial works of Elizabeth's time, such as Nicholas Sander's *Rocke of the Churche*. But he also published much that was new, both in controversy and devotion, and he continued to produce translations and compilations of his own such as his English version of the *Meditationes vitae Christi* and his enlarged *Manual of Godly Prayers*.

Heigham does not mention any new publications in his request to the Privy Council in 1623. The state regulation of printing in the Spanish Netherlands, though it still remained in the letter, was in practice greatly relaxed at this period. Once a book had received the "imprimatur" of the ordinary of the diocese, or his representative, the printer did not as a rule apply to the Privy Council for permission to print it, though he was theoretically required to do so, unless he thought it might be pirated by another printer, in which case he applied for a "privilege" granting him sole right to print and publish it for a specified number of years. Heigham's request was for the extension of a "privilege" previously granted to him, to publish certain books of devotion for English readers, which has now expired. The books were all devotional and catechetical works of established popularity:—

THE PRIMER IN LATIN AND ENGLISH. (Printed for him in 1616 and again in 1621. No later edition by Heigham is known. A & R 682-3.)

THE PRIMER IN LATIN WITH ENGLISH RUBRICS. (Printed for him in 1614 and again in 1623. A & R 685-6.)

DIEGO DE ESTELLA : THE CONTEMPT OF THE WORLD. (Printed for him in 1622. No later edition by Heigham is known. A & R 296.)

ROBERT SOUTHWELL : A SHORT RULE OF GOOD LIFE. (Printed for him in 1622. No later edition by Heigham is known. A & R 891.)

ST. ROBERT BELLARMINE : AN AMPLE DECLARATION OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. (Printed for him in 1617, reprinted in 1624. A & R 91-2.)

ST. FRANCIS OF SALES : AN INTRODUCTION TO A DEVOUT LIFE. (Printed for him in 1613 and 1617, and again in 1622. No later edition by Heigham is known. A & R 338, 340-41.)

A MANUAL OF PRAYERS. (Printed for him in 1613 and 1620, and again in 1625. A & R 507, 512, 514.)

LUIS DE GRANADA : OF PRAYER AND MEDITATION. (Printed for him in 1612. No later edition by Heigham is known. A & R 478.)

LUIS DE GRANADA : A MEMORIAL OF A CHRISTIAN LIFE. (Printed for him in 1612 and again in 1625. A & R 474-5.)

During the peak period, 1622-1625, one or two books with his imprint extension of a "privilege" previously granted to him, to publish certain with the English Jesuits. His parish (Ste. Marguerite) adjoined that in which the college stood, and Wadsworth remarks on the frequency of his visits there.³³ His work must have brought him into close touch with John Wilson, the supervisor of the press, who was evidently willing to help him out at this busy time. Clement Reyner's *Treatise of Indulgences*, 1623, C. W. B.'s *Summarie of Controuersies*, 1623, and the work entitled *Qui non credit condemnabitur . . . Or a discourse, etc.*, 1625, all bear the imprint "S. Omers, for John Heigham," but their types and ornaments show that they were printed at the Jesuit press.³⁴ This is the only known instance of that press being put at the disposal of an outsider in the first half-century of its existence, and it is testimony to the trust which the Jesuits placed in him.

After 1625, renewed persecution of Catholics in England made the distribution of books more difficult, and conditions in the Spanish Netherlands, which for fifteen years had favoured the efforts of the exiles to help their fellow-Catholics at home, changed for the worse. War had broken out

between England and Spain in 1624 and peace was not restored till 1630. From 1627-1629, England was also at war with France. All this had a disastrous effect on English printing abroad, and Heigham's business suffered with the rest. In 1626, he published two books ; in 1627, one ; in 1628 and 1629, none.^{34a} When peace returned, he became active again for a brief period, publishing one book in 1630 and five in 1631.

Charles Boscard died in 1629³⁵ but his widow printed for Heigham in 1630 and 1631. The families of Boscard and Heigham were by this time linked by close ties ; when Heigham's last child, Anne was born in October 1629, the godmother was " Anna Buret Vidua Caroli Boscardi." ^{35a} Heigham probably died in 1631 or not long afterwards. The younger John Heigham, answering the questions put to him on his entering the English College, Rome, in 1634, speaks of his parents in the present tense—" Parentes sunt . . ."—but this is merely a formula and it would be unwise to use it as evidence. Heigham's imprint disappears after 1631. When, in 1634, the third edition appeared of the *Life of Our Lord*, which Heigham had adopted from the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, it was printed at the English College press. If Heigham had been alive then, he would almost certainly have published it over his own imprint.³⁶

Heigham himself gives a picture of his life at Saint Omer in the late 1620's in his book *Via Vere Tuta* (1631),³⁷ a reply to Sir Humphrey Lynde's Anglican apologia *Via Tuta: the Safe Way* (1628). In the early chapters of this book he gives an account of the origin of his dispute with Lynde and describes various discussions and arguments he has had with English Protestants visiting the continent. A fascinating portrait of Heigham emerges from these pages : we see him riding between Saint Omer, Calais and Dunkirk to visit other Catholic exiles and to do business with merchants at the ports, taking a party of Englishmen and their wives from Dover and Canterbury to see the sights of Saint Omer, dining with a group of Englishmen at a Flemish merchant's house at Calais—and always the conversation turns to religion, to the points in dispute between Catholics and Protestants, and to the perennial question " Where was your Church before Luther ? " Heigham, the organiser and man of action, here reveals himself as an able controversialist, widely read, dexterous in argument, forceful in expression, and tireless in the defence of the Church to whose cause he devoted his life.

APPENDIX A

The Gagge of the New Gospel, 1623

This anonymous controversial work³⁸ is not listed under Heigham in Allison and Rogers: *A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English . . . 1558-1640*, as the editors had not discovered the evidence showing it to be his before their work went to press.

The *Gagge* was first printed secretly in England in 1623 and it quickly established itself as an important work of controversy. A second edition was printed by Boscard at Saint Omer in the same year. No extant copy of the third edition is recorded, but a fourth, in which it was renamed *The Touchstone of the Reformed Ghospell*, appeared in 1634. At least seven more editions, with some little alteration to the text, were published at Saint Omer and elsewhere in the second half of the seventeenth century. On the first appearance of the book in 1623, Richard Montague, Bishop of Chichester, wrote a lengthy answer to it: *A New Gagg for an Old Goose* (1624);³⁹ and nearly seventy years later Simon Patrick, Bishop of Ely, published a second reply, *An Answer to a Book . . . intituled, the Touchstone of the Reformed Gospel* (1692),⁴⁰ because, as he says in his preface, the *Touchstone* had been so often reprinted and was to be found "in every Parish of this Great City [London], and in the very prisons, where the Romish-Priests could meet with any entertainment."

The work is usually attributed to Matthew Kellison, the President of Douai College, who was a noted controversialist, but this attribution goes back no further than the early eighteenth century. All the seventeenth century editions were anonymous. Neither Bishop Montague nor Bishop Patrick knew who the author was. The attribution to Kellison first appeared in print in Dodd's *Church History*, published in 1737, from which later writers have taken it. Dodd had spent a number of years as a priest at Douai and his statement may be based on a college tradition,^{40a} but whatever connection Kellison had with the book, it is certain that he did not write it. Internal evidence alone renders his authorship unlikely; for instance, the writer says, concerning Protestants' rejection of the imposition of hands in the sacrament of Holy Order: "Doctor Kellison handling this question . . . proueth most learnedly, as his maner is, that this foundation being disproved, the whole

frame of their Church and Religion falleth."⁴¹ Though it is possible that Kellison, wishing to hide his identity, might have referred to himself in the third person, it is unlikely that he would have used the words "most learnedly, as his maner is" in mentioning his own work. But there is stronger evidence than this. Heigham, in *Via Vere Tuta*, claims the work as his own. Speaking of the insulting language used by Protestant writers of their adversaries, he gives a number of instances from Elizabethan times and then proceeds to a more recent example :

" Will you see some more of this modest marchandise, both of a latter date, and comming from a man exalted to an eminent place in your English Church ? They are the words of M. Richard Montagues, now Lord of Chichester ; heare with what sweete and beautifull words he be-oyleth his brother Abraham in his Answer to the Gage. Behould the Tallie ; tell them vpon your fingers end. Idiot, Imposter, Scurrillous fellow, Mounteband, Buffone, Rakeshame [and so on, for another seven lines of text] . . . with allmost as many more like venomous words which I ommit, against no other man, then euen the same that returnes an answer to your *via Tuta*." ⁴²

The insults of which Heigham complains to Sir Humfrey Lynde in *Via Vere Tuta* are all to be found in Montague's reply to the *Gage*, entitled *A New Gagg for an Old Goose*.

APPENDIX B

- i. Heigham's petition to the Privy Council at Brussels. Superscribed 1 July 1622. (Brussels, Archives du Royaume, Conseil Privé Espagnol, Carton 1277, un-numbered.)

AU ROY

Remonstre en toute humilité Jehan Hihant marchand Anglois demeurant presentement à St. Omer, que pour se maintenir en exercice libre de notre sainte foye, et religion catholicque apostolicque et Romaine, Il se seroit rethiré es pays de pardeça passez dixnoeuf à vingt ans et prins à femme Marie Boniface fille de Pierre Bourgeois de la ville d'Arrass, dont il at plusieurs enfans tous natifz des villes de Douay et St. Omer, pour la sustentation desquelz, et de sa petite famille Il luy auriot esté necessaire, s'exercer en diverses artes, et mestiers, et signament en l'art de l'Imprimerie,⁴³ ayant par la permission de feu le Serenissime Archiducq, imprimé passées quelques années aulcuns Liures de deuotion et piété translatez en langue Angoise, comme Il appert par les Octroyes originels cy joincts : Ores comme le temps de ladyte permission reprins esseys

octroyes est escoulé. et que pour la meilleur et sainte education de ses petites enfans, et de sa petite famille quy croit chacun jour, Il luy est necessaire faire plus grands fraiz et mises, à quoy il ne peult subuenir sans libre exercice de sone art, Il supplie treshumblement Votre Majesté estre seruie, luy accorder grace et Priuilege, de pouoir seul, et à l'exclusion de tous aultres, Imprimer, ou faire imprimer, vendre, et distribuer, les Liures cy apres specifiez :— Asscaoir Les heures de notre dame en Latin et en Anglois. Les mesmes Heures en Latin, auecq les rubricq en Anglois. Le contept du monde, par Diego de Stella. La regle de bonne Vie, par vn père de la Compaignie de Iesus. Le Cathecisme de Bellarmin. L'Introduction à la Vie deuote. Le Manuel des prières. La Meditation de Grenart. Le Memorial dudyt Grenart auecq la vie de Iesus Christ, tous translatez en Anglois, et approuuez par Docteurs et professeurs en theologie, residens eses villes et Vniuersité, de Douay et St. Omer, dont font foye les Lettres closes de Monseigneur le Reuerendissime Euesque dudyt St. Omer cy jointes ; et ce pour le terme et espace de quinze ans prochainement venans, soubz les paines et amendes qu'Il plaira à Votre Majesté arbitrer. Quoy faisant &c.

(Superscribed)

fiat acte de priuilege et permission cy requiste fait à Bruxelles le premier de Juillet 1622 Ma.v.

2. Testimonial of Paul Boudot, Bishop of S. Omer, accompanying the above petition. (*Ibid.*)

Messieurs.

Je renuoye à V.SS. l'aduis qu'elles m'ont demandé sur la requeste présentée par Jean Heigham marchand libraire, demeurant en ceste v[ille de]⁴⁴ S. Omer, par laquelle il demande faculté d'imprimer aucuns liures [en] Angloise, scauoir de quatre, dont il a desja privilege du Conseil d[] selon qu'il l'at exhibé, et pourrat encor exhiber à V.SS.ries Il [] quant et quant auoir priuilege pour imprimer encor d'aultres petits [] scauoir L'introduction à la vie deuote, Les reigles de bein viure, Le mesp[rise du] monde, Le Cathecisme de Bellarmine, qui en semblable langue, ont [été] desja plusieurs fois imprimés, et de nouueau, La vie de Iesus Christ, et [Les heures] de nostre Dame en Latin, auec les rubriques en Anglois. Je puis attes[ter] par la recherche et information que i'ay faict du personnage, il est [] et homme de bien, et qu'il y a enuiron dix noef ans, qu'il reside en ce Pa[ys] scauoir à Douay dix ans, et icy a Saint Omer enuiron noef ans, ou [il s'est] domicilié auec sa femme et ses enfantz. Pour les liures, par ce qu'ils [] d'vne langue à moy incognué, ie n'en puis iuger ny tesmoigner, sui[vant] rapports et attestations de ceux qui l'entendent, lesquels les ont appr[ouvés et] n'y ont rien trouué contre la foy, ny contre les bonnes moeurs. Et [] ce sont liures de deuotion, qui la plus part ont i'a esté imprimés, [sans] auoir causé aucun scandale, ou parolle, il semble que la faculté s'en [] pourroit

bien permettre, s'il ny a autre chose dont ie ne puis auoir cog[noissance] et
pourquoy ie remetz le tout à la prudence et discretion de V.SS. desquelles ie
seray toute ma vie,

Messieurs,

Treshumble seruiteur

Paul Euesque de Saint Omer

A Saint Omer ce 14. de Juing 1622

au Conseil Priué

NOTES

1. Allison & Rogers: *A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English printed abroad or secretly in England 1558-1640*. 1956. p. 182. I shall refer to this work as 'A & R.'
2. p. 40
3. tom. 3. col. 487.
4. Archives du Royaume, Conseil Privé Espagnol, cartons 1276-1279.
5. *Biographical Studies*, vol. 2, no. 3, 1954. pp. 210-11.
6. John Gerard. *The autobiography*. Translated and edited Caraman. 1951. pp. 82-3. Also CRS vol. 30, pp. xx, xxii.
7. Vol. 3, p. 256.
8. *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis*. 1937.
9. Edited R. B. McKerrow. p. 134.
10. A & R 392, p. 8.
11. STC 24926, p. 27.
12. CRS vol. 34.
13. Greg & Boswell: *Records of the Court of the Stationers Company*, p. 58.
14. A & R 147. cf. Plomer: "Bishop Bancroft and a Catholic Press" (*The Library*, 1905, pp. 164-176. esp. pp. 174-5), and *Acts of English Martyrs*, 1891, pp. 238-48.
15. Gatehouse certificates. CRS vol. 4, p. 234.
16. SPD Eliz. vol. 271, no. 33.
17. For the text, see Appendix B.
18. Hatfield Calendar, vol. 16. p. 32.
19. A & R 766-9.
20. Udall was the subject of a paper by the present writer read before the Catholic Record Society on 21 May 1958. It is hoped to publish it in a future number of *Recusant History*.
21. SPD James I, vol. 35, f. 31.
22. In the Westminster Cathedral Archives (A.16. p. 125), there is a draft letter from Anthony Champney, dated 30 June 1620, to "Monsieur Heigham marchand libraire a S. Omers." (Unfortunately the letter gives no biographical information apart from the address.)
23. For Auroi, Bellet, Boscard, cf. Lepreux: *Gallia Typographica*, sèr. départementale, tom. 1, passim.
24. BM. Lansdowne MSS. vol. 153, f. 16.
25. *Ibid.* f. 17.
- 25a. A & R. 319.
26. Text in Appendix B.
- 26a. A & R. 113.
27. Text in R. Belvederi: *Guido Bentivoglio Diplomatico*, 1947, 48. pp. 367-9.
28. In the Bibliothèque municipale. S. Omer. There are no extant registers of marriages and deaths for this period. The original register of births for Ste. Marguerite before 1653 appears to be lost, but there is a late seventeenth century

- tabular analysis of the early registers which gives all the important facts from 1605 onwards. For S. Jean Baptiste the baptismal registers are extant from 1587 onwards."
29. A more thorough search than I have been able to make among the parish registers of Douai, which are preserved in the municipal archives, might throw light on this.
 30. *Necrology of the English Province of Friars Minor*, CRS. vol. 24, p. 264.
 31. "Proprium mihi nomen est Joannes Heigham. Parentis Joannes, Matris Maria. Natus octodecim annorum circiter, Audomari, illique educatus. Parentes sunt Nobiles, de eorum statu ignoro, fratres habeo duos, sorores tres, omnes tamen Catholici. Humaniores litteras Audomari, mediocri progressu profectuque percurri." (PRO.39. 9/10. Roman Transcripts. Originals in the Archives of the English College, Rome.)
 32. Vol. 3, p. 256.
 33. "Higham a booke seller, who liued in the Town, and used often to the Colledge" (*English Spanish Pilgrim*, 1629, p. 27.)
 34. A & R 711, 779, 866.
 - 34a. These are the books which have survived. Some others may have perished. But the overall drop in publication is very marked.
 35. Lepreux, *op.cit.* pp. 26, 101.
 - 35a. Lepreux gives her Christian name as Jeanne.
 36. Gillow (vol. 3, p. 256) says that Heigham was apparently still living at S. Omer in 1639. He seems to have found an edition—or a reference to one—of *Via Vere Tuta* printed at S. Omer in 1639, and to have concluded from this that Heigham was still alive at the time. But the conclusion does not follow. His statement is copied by Thompson Cooper in DNB and by McKerrow in the Bibliographical Society's *Dictionary of Printers*. No copy of a 1639 edition of *Via Vere Tuta* is recorded in A & R.
 37. A & R 392.
 38. A & R 422-5.
 39. STC 18038.
 40. Wing P.745.
 - 40a. A MS. note, probably of the late 17th century, on the titlepage of the 1634 edition in the Gillow Library (Catholic Record Society) identifies the author as "Dr. Matt. Kellison, President of ye College at Doway."
 41. A & R 424 p. 123.
 42. P. 232.
 43. In spite of this statement, the fact remains that every book bearing Heigham's imprint can be allocated, on typographical grounds, to the press of an established printer. He probably assisted at the press with Auroi and Boscard, but there is no evidence that he had a press of his own.
 44. The right-hand edge of the original is worn away. Omissions are indicated in the transcription by square brackets.

SOME NOTES ON THE RECUSANT ROLLS

By HUGH BOWLER, O.S.B.

(*Recusant History* vol. 4, no. 5 pp. 182-198.)

CORRIGENDA & ADDENDA

p. 187, line 15-16

For . . . " within the shire nominated " . . . *Read* . . . " within the shire (nominated " . . .

p. 187, l. 17

For . . . " inquire into, assess the value—by the verdict " . . . *Read* . . . " inquire into and assess—by the verdict " . . .

p. 188, l. 32

After . . . " had been carried out (18a) " .
Add "(cf. Appendix A [13])"

p. 196 (note 6a, l. 4)

For . . . " the roll of 1552 " . . .
Read . . . " the roll of 1652 " . . .

p. 219, l. 9

After " Thomas, ' 2nd son ' . . . 22 April 1615 "
Insert "(Note : This will contains the following interesting reference to the martyr, ' to my wife Elizabeth . . . a goulde ringe with a stone in it, given to me by my brother John Talbot deceased '):"

p. 219, l. 12

Delete " Clare, mar. James Greene of Newsam "
Substitute " Clare, died 28 April 1602 or 1603, mar. Henry Fairfax of Lund, Kilburn (lic. 1591), died 20 August 1603. (Note : cf. Kilburn Registers. For marriage licence, cf. *Yorks. Archaeol. Journal*, VII, 293. Henry Fairfax's will (Test. Ebor., 29/565) makes ' Thomas Talbot of North Ottrington, Anthony Bierlie of Pickall and John Talbott [Roger's son] of Thornton in Street gents' his executors. Clay (*op. cit.*) gives ' James Greene of Newsam ' as Clare's husband, but cites no authority)."

p. 219, l. 28

For " Ann, in 1612 wife of Anthony Bierley of Pickhill (19)"

Read " Ann, in 1575 wife of Anthony Bierley (died 1619) of Pickhill
(19),"

p. 219, l. 34

Under " Thomas, o,s,p."

Add " Agnes
Clare { mentioned in their father's will (Test. Ebor.,
35/305) "

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Compiled by

R. E. SCANTLEBURY

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